

member of the full committee, and with many of the Democrats who will be expected to offer amendments.

It is a very complex bill governing the Departments of Health and Human Services and Education and Labor, and traditionally it brings a great many amendments. That is to be expected. It is my thought that we can identify the amendments at an early stage, that we can work out time agreements, and that we can vote on the amendments.

I have already talked to some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle about doing some of that work in August, where we will be identifying amendments. We have an excellent staff on both sides of the aisle already working. It is our expectation, beyond our hope, to have a very prompt consideration of the bill and to get it completed at an early date. I don't want to say any timeline because this body is too unpredictable, even with planning and with management, but it is our hope to get short time agreements and, with the consent of the leadership, to have the votes stacked. If there are arguments, to go over and make use of the evening time and proceed to get the bill completed.

There is one very strong incentive on all sides for completing the bill and that is that we have \$3 billion more if we have a bill than if we have a continuing resolution. We do not have too much money to start with, and very important items on health, education, and worker safety, et cetera.

So we intend to proceed on that basis. I appreciate the opportunity to address my colleagues. As the majority leader has said, people are already on planes en route, some worldwide. I have my plans very well set. I am on a train in 25 minutes. August is to be spent by this Senator traveling his State.

There is rumor that I have an election coming up in 2004, both a primary and a general election. I have a lot of work to do and will be attending to it. When we return at the start of September—to the Senate business, Senator HARKIN and I hope to set the pace to try to get these appropriations bills done, to cooperate with the majority leader. If there is to be a completion by September 30, the end of the fiscal year, this is the giant, once the Department of Defense appropriations bill has been finished.

So we will be hard at work, trying to get through the bill and have the Senate work its will and get it completed in the public interest.

I, again, thank the majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished chairman. I have the utmost confidence we will be able to get on this bill as soon as we get back and that, under his leadership, along with that of Senator HARKIN, we will be able to very effectively and efficiently address the issues before us.

Clearly, we seek early, rather than later, completion. One of the advan-

tages of even having this colloquy now and us having the statement together is that people know what we are coming to. They have plenty of time to look at the appropriations and develop what comments they have to make and allow time for preparation of amendments. With that, we should be able to come back and hit the ground running.

Mr. SPECTER. If I might make one addenda, Mr. President, and that is the option of third reading if people do not have amendments to offer. One of the banes of the Senate procedure is the quorum call, those two lights up there when nothing is happening on the floor.

I have long been an advocate that, if amendments are not offered, we ought to go to third reading. When people have more than a month to prepare, I think that is a fair position to take. When I last managed this bill in June of the year 2000, we finished the bill on the Senate floor on June 28, which tied a record going back to 1974.

We cannot do that; we are already past June 28. But I think we can get this bill done. But let the record show: Let the buyers beware. Let Senators be on notice that this manager intends to push for third reading if we have quorum calls up there. People ought to bring their amendments to the floor and we will debate them and vote on them and work the will of the Senate and work through promptly.

Again, I thank the majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

DOING THE NATION'S BUSINESS

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, the past 4 weeks have been extraordinarily productive. I thank my colleagues for their participation, for their cooperation, and for their patience to make that possible. I thank them for accepting some deadlines that we put forward, accepting the overall strategy, just as we just heard, of setting a goal far in advance so people have the opportunity to prepare and to think so we can most efficiently use the time for debate and amendment on the floor of the Senate.

We have passed major legislation, of which we should all be proud. We should share that with our constituents, as we go back to our States, as we travel around the country to seek input and listen but also to say that we are doing the Nation's business.

Our leadership has developed a straightforward mission. The mission is crystal clear. It is to move America forward. We are doing so in a manner with values such as civility and trust. We do it in a way that is relationship centered, meaning that we are working together to get the very best out of our individual Members, in terms of thoughts and ideas. We do it in a manner that is solution oriented, that is solutions to the problems that we identify, not just rhetoric and not just talk about the problems.

I think we witnessed that yesterday, in a long day that began at 9 o'clock or 9:30 in the morning but continued until late at night, with the ultimate passage of an Energy bill, of which passage, early in the morning, people said: No way.

All the media questions, people coming up were saying it is going to take another week or 2 weeks or 3 weeks on this Energy bill. Are you going to stay in on Saturday? Are you going to come back and spend all of September?

Yet after initial discussion and proposals, both caucuses worked together and worked within themselves and we came together to pass an Energy bill that will, indeed, move America forward. We did it against what many people would say are the odds. We did it in a very closely divided Senate. But it shows that even in that environment, of a closely divided Senate, if we keep our eye on a specific goal, we can move America forward.

We have set specific goals. As you just heard, we laid out what we are going to be doing next far enough in advance for people to prepare.

Then we act. Each side has certain strategies, and then we reach that goal to give a solution to the American people. That is what Americans expect. When we talk to our constituents, that is what they say they want. That is why they send us to the Senate. They want to be sure we step up to the plate on growth and jobs.

We must be a key partner with the administration in the war on terror. We must stand up and act on life and support our values here at home and, indeed, around the world. We have much to do in the realm of health. We have made progress, but we have much more to do. Our tort system is badly in need of reform.

Of course, during all of this, our utmost responsibility is to govern—to govern responsibly, in a responsive way.

Before we leave for our recess today, reflecting over the last 4 weeks we have been in session, I therefore jump back to before the Fourth of July recess. Before the Fourth of July recess, it was at that point that I informed our colleagues we would be doing the Energy bill in this final week in July, and we did. I said at that time we would do everything possible to finish the Energy bill this week, and we did. As late as yesterday morning, there was doubt. Early in the morning, people said there was no way it could be done. We got it done by cooperation—again, on both sides of the aisle—by determination, and by going back to one of those values I keep talking about which we are expressing in this Congress—civility. We were successful. We got it done. America will benefit. Americans will benefit.

We have a national comprehensive energy policy coming out of this body. Yes, it will be modified. Yes, in part, it will be rewritten over the coming weeks. But with the President laying

out a plan 2 years and 3 months ago, with the House of Representatives having acted, and the Senate having acted on energy, we can develop that final product to send to the President to the benefit of all Americans. It is part of government, it is part of leadership, and we have delivered.

On the international front, last night we passed two highly significant trade agreements. One was the Singapore free-trade agreement, and the other was the Chile free-trade agreement. Those are the first free-trade agreements to move through Congress under the so-called fast-track authority since that process was restored a year ago. It is an important achievement for the body itself, but it is an even more important achievement for the world community and for our national community as we improve those trade relationships with Chile and Singapore.

As you just look at the action last night on energy, it was a tough challenge. Everybody said: No, we have to spend days and days and days more. As we look on the success with trade last night, we can say we have added another chapter to our work to grow the economy and to create jobs. It didn't exist yesterday morning, and now it exists after our action last night. As we look at this whole issue of jobs and as we travel around the country, it is the No. 1 issue you hear about because it affects people's lives so directly.

We passed the Jobs and Growth Act of 2003. Indeed, as most of us are aware, over the last week or week and a half and over the next several weeks, 25 million families will receive checks of \$400 or more per child, which is in addition to the \$600 they have already received this year. But that additional incremental \$400 is because of action here in the Senate and passing the jobs and growth package—25 million families—indeed, over 500,000 in my home State of Tennessee. If we had not acted, they would not be getting the checks. They will be spending those checks. Most importantly, they decide how to spend that \$400, or that \$1,000, because of the action of this body. They are the ones who decide whether it is on clothing, whether it is on food, or whether it is on buying a computer to help their child in education. They will be deciding.

A family of four, because of that jobs and growth package, making \$40,000 will see their taxes reduced. Remember, that means money in their pockets—money they can save and invest. A family of four making \$40,000: \$1,133 in 2003. That is how much their taxes will be reduced.

The Jobs and Growth Act is the third largest tax cut in history passed by this body. The \$350 billion package will boost the economy, it will grow the number of jobs, and it will allow more Americans to control more of their own hard-earned paychecks. This is money they have earned which they paid to the Federal Government that the Federal Government has returned

to them to save and to invest, to boost the economy, to make their lives more fulfilling. That is the sort of action and the sort of solution that moves America forward.

Because of our commitment to meeting our legislative goals, we are helping to put America on the road to economic security. We are committed to strengthening America's economy. We are committed to providing each American with more of that economic security. And we are committed to ensuring that the playing field is fair.

On the international front, we funded Operation Iraqi Freedom in less than 2 months. We have liberated the Iraqi people from the clutches of a vicious and brutal dictator, a mass murderer who has killed thousands of his own people, including members of his own family as well as thousands of people from lands outside of the Iraqi border.

Over the last several weeks, we have had the opportunity to be briefed by people directly in Iraq who are participating in the rebuilding of that democracy. They brought to us encouraging news that all too often we don't see on the front pages of the newspapers or in the coverage on the television. But we are hearing directly from them. We are making progress. Is it slow? Of course, it is slower than any of us would want. But it is steady, consistent progress. The Senate will continue to support this ongoing war on terror. We will continue our financial commitment. We will continue our moral commitment until America's enemies are defeated.

Internationally, we also passed the NATO Expansion Treaty bringing 700 new nations into that cornerstone organization of freedom in the Western World. We are bringing more and more countries into the orbit of democratic nations and providing more of the world's economic citizens with that sort of opportunity, and more of the world's citizens with that economic security that they, too, deserve.

The Senate is also flexing its influence to reform countries that defy their citizens their natural, God-given rights to be free. We did that recently with the assistant majority leader, Senator MCCONNELL's Burmese Freedom Act just several weeks ago. With a bit of luck, we will finish action on the authorization of our foreign aid programs so that we can further enhance our voice and our values around the world.

Again, if we jump back 5 or 6 weeks, before the last recess, I articulated my goal to pass major appropriations bills in a timely fashion. This, too, we are accomplishing in an organized, systematic way.

The colloquy that just occurred on the floor with the distinguished chairman of the Labor-HHS bill is a manifestation of planning and a systematized approach of a strategy where we can address that very important bill in a timely fashion. If we do it as he mentioned—as he will be explaining on the

floor of this Senate on the Tuesday we come back—if we do it instead of delaying, there will be an additional \$3 billion available. If it happens to be available the way the law is written, that committee will not have the incentive later to take the action but will address the bill right now.

This is in contrast to the last Congress. There was a logjam we had in the last Congress where the appropriations bills really got stopped. In fact, it was not until this Congress that we passed 11 of the 13 appropriations bills that were supposed to be passed in the last Congress. We did that in the first couple months of this Congress.

But we are making progress. We built on our success with the FAA authorization bill, the extension of unemployment benefits. When you look at the appropriations, in 3 short weeks we passed the legislative branch, the Department of Defense, military construction, and the Homeland Security appropriations bills. That keeps moving America forward. And we will come to Labor-HHS when we return.

I should mention that on the Homeland Security appropriations bill we had distinguished leadership. I applaud and personally thank Senator THAD COCHRAN for his tremendous work in particular because that was the first time we have had this Department of Homeland Security and, thus, it is a new appropriations bill. It was handled magnificently on the floor, and we were able to successfully complete the Homeland Security appropriations bill.

This whole process of setting goals, implementing a strategy in a civil environment, and working hard through debate and amendment is working. If you look at our commitment on health and health issues, people see the commitment there. They saw it as we set out the agenda in early January on a whole range of issues.

In January, most people, on Medicare, said: The Senate is not going to be able to do it. The House can probably do it. They have done it in the past. In fact, they do it really in every Congress. The rules are very different in the House. But most people said: In the Senate Medicare is too partisan. There is too much bickering. People use it for political purposes. It can't be done.

Yet, again, we delivered. Now the Senate has passed a bill that, for the first time in the history of this wonderful Medicare program—that simply is out-of-date, but a wonderful program that as a physician I have had direct experience with for 20 years, just about every day taking care of Medicare patients before coming to the Senate, writing thousands of prescriptions myself—for the first time those prescriptions I was writing become a part of Medicare.

Heretofore, these outpatient prescriptions have not been a part of Medicare. Yet the way health care has evolved, these medicines today are probably the most powerful component, the most powerful tool doctors

and nurses and health care providers have to give seniors health care security, to give patients health care security.

In addition, seniors and individuals with disabilities will have the opportunity, for the first time in Medicare, to choose a plan or a type of health care coverage that best suits their individual needs. We passed it in the Senate. We did what a lot of people said we were just not going to be able to do. And it was bipartisan. There were over 70 votes, and it was really kind of driven to get as many votes as possible but with good policy, taking the very best of the Democratic ideas and the very best of the Republican ideas, and melding those together.

We have a challenge I am very hopeful we will meet by late September; that is, to take that House bill, to take the Senate bill—the conference is underway now—and, in conference, develop a bill that will be strong, that will guarantee seniors access to good prescription drug coverage, and give them the choice of a plan that best meets their needs.

I will say—because people don't talk about it very much on the floor; and I am speaking as an individual but also as a conferee—it is important for us to complete action in this conference by late September. The sooner we complete action on the bill, the sooner every senior—people who are listening broadly around the country or near seniors—will have a prescription drug card within months—within months—of the time the President actually signs that bill; every senior will get some help with that card in the very near future if they are buying prescription drugs.

So the sooner we complete the bill, the sooner we can get the benefit to the seniors, especially those seniors who are hurting, who are in an economic position where this burden of buying prescription drugs is great, is heavy. The sooner we pass this bill—it has to be a good bill; it has to be an appropriate bill; it has to be a balanced bill; and it has to be, most importantly, a responsible bill—the sooner seniors can benefit from the \$400 billion that this body, the House, and the President of the United States have all agreed we want to get to seniors.

So it is ready in terms of the commitment that is made. The money is there. Now we need the vehicle itself. And that is what we are doing in conference. So the sooner we can get it done, the sooner seniors will be able to benefit.

On health, I will also have to mention the global HIV/AIDS bill this body passed several months ago under the distinguished leadership, great leadership, of Chairman DICK LUGAR. This global HIV/AIDS bill addresses the greatest moral, humanitarian, and public health challenge of the last 100 years. It shows we are caring. It shows we have compassion. It shows we do not just talk about it, but that we lead on it.

I commend President Bush, in his State of the Union Message, for leading on it, and this body for responding appropriately at a level—again, in a bipartisan way—that most people in this country and, indeed, the world would not have anticipated.

As a physician, I have had the opportunity over a 20-year period to take care of HIV/AIDS patients personally, both when I was at Vanderbilt University Medical Center and also as I did my medical training in Boston, MA, and out at Stanford in California. I can tell you, when you have the opportunity to look back over a 20-year period—in 1983 we did not know this virus existed. We did not know about it. The best scientists in the world did not know this virus existed. Then it killed five people in the country. Then it killed, in the world, a million people, then 5 million people, then 10 million people. And now 23 million people have died over that 20 years since 1983.

We are responding. This is the first time we have really stepped up and said: We are going to eliminate this virus. I am very proud of my colleagues and gratified that the Senate stepped up with this determination to dedicate \$15 billion, which is the figure people think of, but equally important, taking a leadership role for comprehensively addressing the ravages of this virus.

By passing this legislation, we are helping to prevent 7 million new infections, we are providing antiretroviral drugs for 2 million HIV-infected people, providing care for 10 million HIV-infected individuals, and investing in research so we will find a cure.

Right now, today, there is no cure for this virus. There is no vaccine to prevent this virus. Thus we need to do everything we can to both preserve our great pharmacologic research endeavors in this country and, at the same time, invest in a responsible way so we can encourage and give incentives to encourage investment to find a cure—a cure that if you had the virus, you will be able to cure the virus, and also to prevent the virus. And you can do that with a vaccine.

In this Congress, we have seen Senator SUSAN COLLINS lead the campaign to increase public access to defibrillation of the heart. When a heart fibrillates, it becomes like a bag of worms. Instead of beating regularly, it begins to fibrillate. And that is when people die, because the heart is not pumping. But if you can get to them quickly enough, you can put those paddles on, and you can shock the heart back to that normal, constant beating.

That public access to defibrillation is important. It is something on which we are making huge progress, specifically under the leadership of Senator SUSAN COLLINS.

We passed the Trauma Care Systems Planning and Development Act. So if driving home today you were to have an accident, there will be a trauma center to respond to you immediately, especially when time and expertise become critically important.

Our values have been on display this session as well.

We have allotted significant resources to upgrade the technology at America's Historically Black Colleges and Universities. We took a historic step in bringing a National Museum of African American History and Culture to our Nation's capital by passage of that bill.

It has been 80 years of petitions that has led to an understanding of how we might respond. But in terms of developing the museum, it took passage on the floor of the Senate for it to take that next step to become a reality. I have to thank Senator SAM BROWNBACK and Congressman JOHN LEWIS from the other side of the Capitol for their tremendous leadership.

Senator LAMAR ALEXANDER has focused on the American History and Civics Education Act. Because of his leadership, America's students will have the opportunity to learn our Nation's great history and civic traditions. I thank Senator GREGG for his bill, the Keeping Children and Families Safe Act. We acted on legislation to make it easier for States to continue their efforts to enroll children in health care programs. The SCHIP legislation makes a difference in thousands and thousands of families' lives.

There were three items passed earlier this year I want to mention. In March we passed the partial-birth abortion ban. We have an agreement with the other side of the aisle to address this issue for a day sometime in September. The following month, we passed the CARE Act, the President's faith-based initiative. That same month we passed the AMBER alert. The lives of millions of Americans and future citizens will be protected by all of these efforts. Each of these items demonstrates our deep compassion for our most vulnerable citizens.

The Senate is accomplishing all of this through hard work, through cooperation among Members on both sides of the aisle. I thank my colleagues for their efforts. We are overcoming partisanship. We are stressing civility and trust. We are making the legislative process work in an orderly and systematic way.

One area, however, that is in some ways undermining progress is the obstruction we are seeing with regard to Presidential circuit court nominees. We have seen it with Miguel Estrada, Priscilla Owen, and William Pryor. Now is not the time to rehearse the history of the last 7 months, but it is enough to say that the process is broken. The process is not working. I would only hope as the fall unfolds, we will find ways for the Senate to vote up or down. That is really all this side of the aisle is asking for, to have that opportunity to vote yes or no, up or down on the President's judicial nominations.

When it comes to the fall, we will continue our work to govern responsibly and comprehensively. We will

complete our efforts with regard to the emergency supplemental as well as funding the President's request submitted in early July.

In those coming weeks of the fall, we will also complete action on several remaining appropriations bills. As we outlined earlier today, we will begin with the Labor, Health and Human Services legislation. That legislation underwrites many of our Federal efforts to help where we must to make a difference in so many Americans' lives.

We will also continue to work this fall on asbestos reform legislation. It is clear that is a pressing national crisis. I am convinced that with goodwill and cooperation, we will be able to responsibly address this issue. I have talked with the Democratic leadership repeatedly, and we all agree it is an issue we can address and will address sometime in the future.

We will also take up at some juncture class action lawsuit reform. It is a fairly quiet bill in the background, but it is one that will make a huge difference in the fair and quick administration of justice nationwide. We will also be revisiting medical litigation reform sometime in the fall. There are other items we can address in terms of tort reform that we in all likelihood will be considering. We will continue to stand for issues surrounding life. We will complete action on the partial-birth abortion ban at some point in September, and then we will move ahead on legislation addressing the Unborn Victims of Violence Act.

Yesterday Senator JUDD GREGG announced hearings in September on public health issues on tobacco. I know the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Mr. MCCONNELL, introduced legislation on Wednesday with regard to buying out quotas from tobacco farmers. We will be addressing all of those issues in the coming months. In addition, we will be looking for other opportunities.

In closing, I thank my leadership colleagues who have helped me each and every day over the last 7 months: Our distinguished President pro tempore, TED STEVENS; I talk to Chairman STEVENS daily. He is an avid user of e-mail so I get three or four every day, which I quickly answer, a canny veteran whose counsel daily has proven invaluable to me and to so many others; our assistant majority leader, MITCH MCCONNELL, whose tireless work day in and day out has kept us together as a team and a conference in these months, is really the glue to our conference; Conference Chairman RICK SANTORUM, who continues to work in overdrive, working overtime, working with passion to keep an eye on the midterm and the long-term issues that are so important to us, focusing so often on those basic values we share; JON KYL, our policy committee chairman, whose attention and focus and study, by leading the policy committee, all ensures that we legislate the very best we can, with the very best information at every opportunity; Senator KAY BAILEY

HUTCHISON, our vice chairman, who stands so often as our public persona in addressing issues and explaining those issues in a way that is important for the American people to understand, addressing issues in a sophisticated, substantive way, but at the same time explaining those so Americans can indeed fully understand where this institution is moving; GEORGE ALLEN, our senatorial chairman, whose instincts are so often right and right on target; JUDD GREGG, who I rely on daily for counsel, whose word I trust and whose support so often makes a huge difference in this Chamber; Senator BOB BENNETT, our chief deputy whip, whose work with colleagues we simply could not do without; Senator ARLEN SPECTER, who was just on the floor, whose thoughts and advice inform so many of the decisions we make here.

I am grateful to all of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who share a thought, who share with me that single word, that piece of advice out of their busy day. I am proud that together as Senators we have preserved what our predecessors have given us and are working to pass on to our successors even something a little bit better.

I thank all the Senators for their hard work, their diligence, and their cooperation. I look forward to returning in September to continue our work on the people's business.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNETT). The Senator from Rhode Island.

THE ECONOMY

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to speak about the economy, an issue that is of increasing concern to so many families across the country. Measured in terms of employment alone, this has been a very difficult and demanding time for Americans across the Nation. At the President's urging, Congress has passed three major tax cuts in what is becoming an annual ritual. I call it a ritual, because it is based on an ideological belief that tax cuts are a one-size-fits-all fix to all of our Nation's economic woes.

Regardless of the specifics of our economic situation, regardless of the growing number of unemployed Americans, and regardless of our record budget deficits, the Administration has pushed on with its misguided, one-track approach.

Mr. President, I do not think anyone would invest a dollar in a project if they only expected to receive 10 cents back. But that is essentially what has happened under the trickle-down economic approach of the Administration. A March 2003 report by the Democratic staff of the Joint Economic Committee estimated that in the best case scenario, the first year return of the 2003 tax cuts would be less than 10 cents on the dollar.

What this means is the American people massively overpaid, committing

ourselves to transferring hundreds of billions of dollars to the Nation's wealthiest individuals for a pittance of economic stimulus.

We have all become extremely anxious and hopeful to hear anything positive about the economy. At first blush, the recent data coming from the Department of Commerce offers a suggestion of hope. But after considering the reports at longer length, and in the context of all the participants in our economy, I am convinced the reports about our gross domestic product are something of a letdown.

As Senator CONRAD has stated, 70 percent of the growth in this quarter's GDP estimate is caused by increased defense spending, without which the economy would have grown at less than 1 percent. This 1 percent growth would be the slowest economic growth of any administration in half a century. So what we are seeing is one of those issues in which one sector, for obvious reasons—because of our build-up in Iraq and our subsequent operations there—is generating a disproportionate share. One can ask the question fairly, how long can that continue?

The National Bureau of Economic Research announced last month that the recession ended 20 months ago. But this announcement simply confirms what many have long suspected—that we are in the midst of a “jobless recovery.” The economy is in as much trouble as it was in the early 1990s, if not worse. More than 3.2 million private sector jobs have been lost during this Administration, with 1.2 million jobs lost even after the so-called end of the recession 20 months ago. And 6.2 percent of the civilian labor force was unemployed, which is down slightly from the previous numbers of 6.4 percent. But the July decline is instructive because it doesn't represent a growth in jobs, it represents the fact that there is a drop in the number of people looking for jobs. The way we measure unemployment is by looking up the number of people actively pursuing employment, that is the basis of the calculation. What we are seeing is people giving up hope, becoming disheartened, understanding that it is hard to find jobs and therefore dropping out of the search for jobs.

Indeed, if you look at the ratio of employment to population, total number of people working versus the population of the U.S., we have seen that ratio decline. Nine million workers were unemployed in July across the country.

But for the current President Bush, this is not his father's jobless recovery. By this period in the 1991 economic recovery, private nonfarm payrolls were rising again. Not only are private sector jobs failing to rise again, they are continuing to fall at an even faster rate. Corporate layoffs are continuing. For Americans who have suffered the most from the recession, this is not an economic recovery because there are simply no jobs.